

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 311031

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, US, XA

SUBJECT: NEW POLICY INITIATIVES IN AFRICA

1. FOR SOME TIME WE HAVE BEEN CONCERNED THAT IN OUR LARGELY SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH BETTER RELATIONS WITH SOME OF THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES THAT HAD BEEN HOSTILE OR SKEPTICAL ABOUT US AFRICAN POLICY, PARTICULARLY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, WE NOT NEGLECT THE MODERATE, SMALLER COUNTRIES OF THE CONTINENT WHO HAVE TRADITIONALLY BEEN OUR FRIENDS. WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS IN TERMS OF THEIR ASSISTANCE IN MAINTAINING MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL BILATERAL RELATIONS, IN PROMOTING COMMON OBJECTIVES IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS, AND IN THEIR CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICAN AND OTHER PROBLEMS OF THE CONTINENT.

2. THIS CONCERN WAS VOICED SEVERAL MONTHS AGO AT A MEETING BY THE SECRETARY WITH AF BUREAU DIRECTORS. THE DISCUSSION RESULTED IN A PAPER DESIGNED TO OUTLINE SOME NEW POLICY
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INITIATIVES WE MIGHT UNDERTAKE TO REFURBISH TIES WITH OUR LONG-TIME FRIENDS. THIS PAPER HAS SEEN A NUMBER OF METAMORPHOSES, BUT WE ARE NOT, FRANKLY, COMPLETELY HAPPY WITH IT EVEN NOW. WE RECOGNIZE THAT IT OFFERS FAIRLY THIN GRUEL, AND WE WANT, IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, TO ADD SOME MEAT TO THE SKELETAL OUTLINE.

3. IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR DESIRE TO INCLUDE THE FIELD MORE FULLY IN THE POLICY FORMULATION PROCESS, WE WOULD LIKE TO INVITE YOUR COMMENTS ON HOW THE PAPER CAN BE IMPROVED IN THE DIRECTION OF GIVING IT GREATER SUBSTANCE.

ANY SUGGESTIONS, NO MATTER HOW "FAR OUT," ARE WELCOME.
COMMENTS SLUGGED FOR AF ONLY SHOULD REACH US BY JANUARY
16.

4. FOLLOWING IS THE DRAFT PAPER ENTITLED "NEW POLICY
INITIATIVES IN AFRICA," IN THE FORM OF A MEMORANDUM TO THE
SECRETARY.

QUOTE. ISSUE FOR DECISION. WHETHER, GIVEN OUR GROWING
TIES WITH AFRICA, WE SHOULD TAKE SPECIAL INITIATIVES TO
STRENGTHEN OUR RELATIONS WITH SELECTED AFRICAN STATES
EXHIBITING CONSTRUCTIVE LEADERSHIP POTENTIAL ON THE
CONTINENT AND IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS.

BACKGROUND. DURING YOUR MEETING WITH AFRICAN BUREAU
DIRECTORS ON SEPTEMBER 20, THE QUESTION OF IMPROVING OUR
RELATIONS WITH KEY AFRICAN STATES WAS DISCUSSED. AT THAT
TIME, WE INDICATED THAT AF WOULD DEVELOP A GENERAL
STRATEGY AND ACTION PROGRAM FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION.

THE STRATEGY WE HAVE DEVELOPED FOCUSES ON WHAT THE BUREAU
REGARDS AS EXISTING AND POTENTIAL "LEADER" STATES WHERE
OUR RELATIONS NEED TO BE BOLSTERED. THESE ARE SENEGAL,
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IVORY COAST, CAMEROON, LIBERIA, GABON, SUDAN, KENYA, AND
-PERHAPS, WHEN IT RETURNS TO CIVILIAN RULE--GHANA. WE
MIGHT ALSO INCLUDE NIGERIA AND ZAIRE; HOWEVER, PATTERNS
OF INTERACTION WITH THOSE GOVERNMENTS ARE WELL ESTAB-
LISHED. AS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA, WE ARE ALREADY WORKING
CLOSELY WITH THE FRONT LINE STATES.

THE STRATEGY WE ARE PROPOSING IS ESSENTIALLY PSYCHOLOGI-
CAL. WE START FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE LEADERS OF THESE
NATIONS SHARE WITH US CERTAIN GOALS AND OBJECTIVES--E.G.,
ORDERLY POLITICAL CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, PEACEFUL
RESOLUTION OF INTRA-AFRICAN DISPUTES AND CONCERN FOR
HUMAN RIGHTS. THE LEADERS OF THESE COUNTRIES BELIEVE,
HOWEVER, THAT WE HAVE TENDED TO IGNORE THEM ON BROAD
AFRICAN ISSUES, HAVE NOT SOUGHT THEIR ADVICE ON NORTH-
SOUTH QUESTIONS, AND TEND TO IGNORE THEIR REGIONAL
SECURITY AND POLITICAL CONCERNS. BECAUSE THE LEADERS OF
THESE COUNTRIES CARRY SUBSTANTIAL POLITICAL WEIGHT, OR
HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO EXERCISE CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE IN
THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU), WE BELIEVE THAT
ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN TO BOLSTER OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS
WITH THEM. (PRESIDENT BONGO OF GABON IS THE CURRENT OAU
CHAIRMAN, HE WILL BE SUCCEDED BY PRESIDENT NIMIERI OF
SUDAN AND, IN 1979, BY PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA.)

THE MAJOR CURRENT CONCERNS OF THESE AFRICAN LEADERS WERE
HIGHLIGHTED AT THE JUNE 1977 FRANCOPHONE SUMMIT AT DAKAR

AND AT THE JULY 1977 OAU MEETING AT LIBREVILLE. THERE, ECONOMIC ISSUES SUCH AS COMMODITY AGREEMENTS, RISING DEBT AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (NIEO) TOOK A BACK SEAT TO POLITICAL ISSUES OF PEACEKEEPING IN AFRICAN TROUBLE SPOTS AND SOVIET-CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA AND THE HORN REGION. SEVERAL LEADERS--PARTICULARLY PRESIDENT SENGHOR, PRESIDENT NIMIERI AND PRESIDENT KENYATTA--HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR HOPE THAT WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO COUNTER SOVIET-CUBAN ACTIVITIES BY INITIATING OR EXPANDING ON
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EXISTING ARMS TRANSFER PROGRAMS. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT REGIONAL DISPUTES CAN BE RESOLVED THROUGH SUCH TRANSFERS. WE WOULD PREFER TO SEE LOCAL DISPUTES MUTED OR RESOLVED THROUGH SUCH TRADITIONAL DIPLOMATIC APPROACHES AS BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL MEDIATION BY DISINTERESTED PARTIES OR BY PEACEKEEPING ACTIONS ON THE PART OF THE OAU.

OUR PREFERRED COURSE WILL NOT MEET THE FELT NEEDS OF THESE LEADERS WITHOUT ADDITIONAL DIPLOMATIC ACTION ON OUR PART. THE ACTIONS WE ARE PROPOSING ARE INTENDED TO ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR AN ONGOING DIALOGUE, TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE WISH TO HAVE THE VIEWS OF THESE LEADERS ON A WIDE RANGE OF AFRICAN AND NON-AFRICAN ISSUES, AND THAT THEY CAN BE ASSURED OF A SYMPATHETIC EAR WHEN THEY FEEL HARDPRESSED BY DOMESTIC AND REGIONAL CONCERNS. BY SUCH INITIATIVES, WE WILL BE DEMONSTRATING THROUGH PERSONAL DIPLOMACY THAT WE SHARE BROAD INTERESTS, THAT WE REGARD THEM AS MATURE LEADERS ON THE AFRICAN SCENE AND THAT, DESPITE OCCASIONAL DISAGREEMENTS, WE ARE CAPABLE OF BUILDING DURABLE BILATERAL RELATIONS.

WE HAVE SINGLED OUT THE LEADERS OF THESE COUNTRIES FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS: (A) THEY HAVE AN ESTABLISHED RECORD OF SUCCESSFUL POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT; (B) MOST HAVE COMPILED A RESPECTABLE RECORD ON HUMAN RIGHTS; (C) THEY ARE NON-IDEOLOGICAL IN THEIR APPROACH TO DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES; AND (D) MOST HAVE SUPPORTED THE UNITED STATES' POSITION ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES IN THE UNITED NATION. MOREOVER, AS ALREADY INDICATED, THEY ARE CAPABLE OF INFLUENCING LIKEMINDED AFRICAN LEADERS ON ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE TO US.

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COURSES OF ACTION. THE APPROACH WE ARE PROPOSING WILL REASSURE A SELECT GROUP OF AFRICAN LEADERS THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO OPEN DIRECT CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION TO THEM AND TO OTHERWISE DEMONSTRATE OUR APPRECIATION FOR THEIR

SUPPORT IN MODEST, BUT TANGIBLE WAYS. WE ALSO WILL BE DEMONSTRATING THAT WE ARE AWARE OF THEIR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRIORITIES, AND ARE WILLING TO WORK WITH THEM TO REACH ACCOMMODATION ON ISSUES OF MUTUAL INTEREST.

I. DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES:

--INSTRUCT AMBASSADORS AT SELECTED POSTS TO INITIATE A DIALOGUE WITH CHIEFS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AND WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS; INFORM THESE LEADERS THAT WE ARE SEEKING WAYS TO WIDEN AND DEEPEN OUR TIES WITH THEM AND SEEK THEIR ADVICE ON HOW BEST TO ACCOMPLISH THIS GOAL.

--INITIATE SELECTIVE EXCHANGES OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN AFRICAN LEADERS AND YOU. THESE EXCHANGES WOULD BE INTENDED TO CONVINCE KEY LEADERS SUCH AS HOUPHOUET AND SENGHOR THAT WE WELCOME AND VALUE THEIR ADVICE ON AFRICAN AND OTHER ISSUES OF MUTUAL CONCERN.

--SEND TOP ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS TO AFRICA TO MEET WITH KEY LEADERS. THE PROPOSED VISIT OF DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER IS A GOOD STARTING POINT FOR SUSTAINED FACETO-FACE MEETINGS. AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND POSSIBLY OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS SHOULD ALSO VISIT SEVERAL AFRICAN STATES EARLY NEXT YEAR.

--ASSURE GREATER ACCESS TO SENIOR US OFFICIALS FOR VISITING AFRICAN LEADERS AND THEIR WASHINGTON AMBASSADORS.

II. CONSULTATIONS WITH EUROPEAN ALLIES:

--ENTER INTO A SERIES OF BILATERAL AND GROUP CONSULTATIONS
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AT THE UN, IN WASHINGTON AND IN EUROPE DESIGNED TO INFORM OUR ALLIES (INCLUDING THE CANADIANS) OF OUR DESIRE TO DEVELOP CLOSER RELATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF INFLUENTIAL AFRICAN STATES; MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE WISH TO COOPERATE WITH THEM WHILE AT THE SAME TIME PURSUING OUR OWN POLICIES.

--WORK WITH FRANCE AND OTHERS TO OFFER ORIENTATION AND TRAINING FOR THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND STAFF OF THE EMERGENT WEST AFRICAN NON-AGGRESSION PACT. THE PACT GROUPS SEVEN FRANCOPHONE WEST AFRICAN STATES: MAURITANIA, SENEGAL, MALI, IVORY COAST, TOGO, UPPER VOLTA AND NIGER. OUR WILLINGNESS TO ASSIST WOULD HELP REINFORCE OUR ALREADY GOOD RELATIONS WITH MEMBER COUNTRIES AND UNDERLINE OUR SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN EFFORTS TO DEFUSE REGIONAL CONFLICTS.

III. ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES:

--WORK WITH USAID TO PROVIDE AMBASSADORS AT SELECTED POSTS WITH INCREASED SPECIAL SELF-HELP FUNDS. LARGER SELF-HELP FUNDS WOULD ALLOW AMBASSADORS TO BE RESPONSIVE TO A WIDE RANGE OF COMMUNITY NEEDS, WOULD INCREASE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR PEACE CORPS PROGRAMS, AS WELL AS DEMONSTRATE OUR INTENTION TO HELP MEET BASIC HUMAN NEEDS SUCH AS CLEAN WATER, PRIMARY EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE AND AN ADEQUATE DIET.

--SUPPORT EFFORTS BY COASTAL STATES TO PROTECT AND DEVELOP THEIR OFFSHORE RESOURCES UNDER BILATERAL AND LOS ARRANGEMENTS.

--EXPAND THE TRANSFER OF AVAILABLE AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGICAL-
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OGY BADLY NEEDED IN AFRICA, BUILDING ON OUR SUCCESS WITH THE LANDSAT PROGRAM. UNQUOTE. CHRISTOPHER

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